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**The
Reviewing Stand**

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**The Democratic Party and
The 1948 Election**

A radio discussion over WGN and the Mutual Broadcasting System

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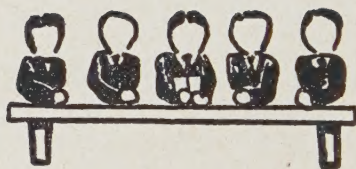
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THE REVIEWING STAND is a weekly radio forum presented by Northwestern University. The program was first broadcast by Station WGN, Chicago, October 14, 1934. It has been on the air continuously since that time, originating in the WGN studios, and, since 1935, carried by the stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System. THE REVIEWING STAND presents members of the Northwestern University faculty and distinguished guests from business, government, education, and the press in round table discussions of contemporary problems—the questions that are in the news. The program is under the direction of James H. McBurney, Dean of the School of Speech, Northwestern University; Miss Myrtle Stahl, Director of Educational Programs, WGN, Chicago; R. E. Buchanan, Director of Radio, Northwestern University; Mrs. Kathryn Johnson, Assistant to the Director; Mrs. Mary Clark, Secretarial Chief.

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The Democratic Party and The 1948 Election

ANNOUNCER: The Northwestern University Reviewing Stand!

MR. BUCHANAN: What do you think of the Democratic Party and the 1948 election?

MR. MOSSE: The Democratic Party can and may win without the Solid South. The Truman-Barkley ticket, running on the late President Roosevelt's New Deal platform, may surprise the over-confident Republicans.

MR. HURLEIGH: This is the twilight of an era. The Democratic Party faces defeat in November and then must reorganize and rebuild for the future.

COL. ARVEY: The Democratic Party candidates *will* win.

MR. BUCHANAN: Today the Reviewing Stand continues its series on the political parties and the presidential election this fall. For a look at the Democratic Convention and the party's platform and candidates, we welcome Baskett Mosse, Assistant Professor in the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University; Robert F. Hurleigh, commentator and Director of News for WGN, Chicago, who covered the convention for the Mutual Broadcasting System; and Colonel Jacob M. Arvey, Chairman of the Illinois Delegation to the Democratic Convention.

Mosse, when you say that the South may not be necessary for a Democratic victory in the fall, do you mean that the Democratic Party doesn't need those votes?

MR. MOSSE: Actually, the Democratic Party may have gained new strength, especially in the big cities of the North, by adopting the civil rights plank of the platform. It is certainly a worthwhile gamble, and it is entirely possible that the Democrats will be able to win, even without the so-called Solid South.

Roosevelt Didn't Need Southern States

They are banking, of course, on the New Deal program of the late President Roosevelt to bring them victory. The Democratic platform adopted in Philadelphia was Roosevelt's platform. They think it can win again. And maybe it can. President Roosevelt never once needed the eleven states of the Solid South to win. He would have won every time, even had the Solid South voted against him, which, of course, it didn't. And I doubt if it will vote against Truman this time. Only once did President Roosevelt, as a matter of fact, even need the help of the half dozen border states. That was in 1944, and he needed only one of the border states to win that time.

MR. BUCHANAN: You were at the convention, Hurleigh, saw its work, and say that you believe the Democrats will lose. What general change in politics do you see then?

MR. HURLEIGH: I believe that the Democratic Party, following the November election and its defeat, will begin to reorganize and rebuild. I believe that the Southern Democrat wing, having fallen away, will either form its own fourth party as opposed to the third party of Henry Wallace, and that those liberal factions which are not the Reds, the Communists of the Wallace Party—and I don't believe that all of the Wallace followers are

Communists by any means—will come into the Democratic Party. Out of this defeat there will grow a stronger and more cohesive Democratic Party for the future.

MR. BUCHANAN: Arvey, you have been prominent in activities of the Democratic Party for a long time, and I know you were active at the convention. I believe you disagree in this matter of winning and losing this fall.

COL. ARVEY: I do very much. But I want to say at the outset that I agree with Hurleigh that out of this may come a realignment of the parties, and by whatever name they are known, they will be the liberal and conservative parties.

I think the Democrats are going to win because, first, the people of this country are liberal. I believe that our convention demonstrated that the liberals were in control of the convention and of the party. I believe that what we did on the civil rights issue alone will gain for us a unity among liberals and progressive voters of the United States, bring us strength in the North, and bring us new followers in the South. The opposing vote of the South, if it comes about, and it now seems likely, in my opinion will strengthen the party rather than hurt it. I have always believed that the South's backwardness on matters of human rights has greatly hurt our party.

MR. BUCHANAN: You believe, along with Mosse then, that the vote of the South may not be necessary for a Democratic victory?

COL. ARVEY: Votes always count. As a professional politician I know that. I don't like to throw away votes, but I do believe that the opposing vote of the South is a healthy thing for our party. I believe it makes our party a united liberal party.

MR. HURLEIGH: I agree with Colonel Arvey that it is a healthy thing for the Democratic Party inasmuch as the South has now broken away over the question of civil rights, but at the same time 127 electoral votes that may be lost would almost mean defeat for the Democratic Party.

Won and Lost Electoral Votes May Balance

COL. ARVEY: You are speaking now of 127 Southern electoral votes. We may now carry New York and Illinois, and these two states alone have a total of 156 electoral votes.

MR. MOSSE: Hurleigh, I think you are assuming that these few gentlemen who broke away at Philadelphia represent the people of the South. We are not at all sure of that. Of course, the only way we will know is in November when the ballots are cast. I feel that these men do not really represent the people of the South.

MR. HURLEIGH: The Alabama delegation, which was elected to go to the convention in opposition to the civil rights advocates, walked out when the civil rights issue came up.

MR. MOSSE: President Roosevelt fought for civil rights a little more subtly. He fought for it and he carried the Solid South every time he ran.

MR. BUCHANAN: Arvey, do you believe that the attitude taken by the Southerners who broke away is representative of the true feeling in the South?

COL. ARVEY: I can't say as to that, but I doubt very much that the major-

ity of the people in the South is in sympathy with the action taken by the leaders.

MR. HURLEIGH: I would agree if the majority of the people in the South included the colored people. Naturally, they do not agree with these people, but they do not have a franchise nine out of ten times. On the other hand, Governor Thurmond, who would be the candidate for President on the fourth party ticket, and Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who will be Vice-President, were definitely elected by the people of their states. We must assume that the people will go along with them.

MR. MOSSE: They weren't elected in a Presidential year. We are now voting for a President and we've got an entirely different problem?

MR. HURLEIGH: Why? The states have to elect the men for the electoral college.

COL. ARVEY: I can't fathom the people of the South voting for these gentlemen from Birmingham, knowing full well that their vote will not count.

MR. HURLEIGH: They want to show their strength in the Democratic Party. They are rebelling and they frankly state that they are rebelling.

MR. BUCHANAN: Do you think, Arvey, that the Southerners would throw away their votes just to show their independence?

Roosevelt and Civil Rights

COL. ARVEY: Some will, but I doubt very much that all of the states will do that. I think Alabama, Mississippi, and perhaps, South Carolina feel about this keenly enough to vent their spite on the party, but I doubt very seriously that we are going to lose all of the Southern states.

MR. HURLEIGH: Let's assume that you lose *some* of the Southern states. I don't believe there is as much chance of getting New York and Illinois as there is of losing the three states we just spoke of.

COL. ARVEY: You may be right, but only the November election will tell that. It depends on how far these men go.

MR. HURLEIGH: Mosse, you have been talking about President Roosevelt's platform, the New Deal platform. I believe that President Truman has shown more courage and has been more straightforward in going into civil rights than President Roosevelt. The New Deal-Roosevelt platform that you speak of never did anger the Southerners as Mr. Truman has.

MR. MOSSE: Let's say that the late President Roosevelt may have been a little smoother operator, if you can use the term, and was able to get the point over a little better than Mr. Truman. Maybe he was a little more subtle in his approach to the problem, realizing that it is a problem and that you can't plow your way right into it.

MR. HURLEIGH: In 1936 there was a definite majority of Democrats in Congress. The Republicans were at the lowest ebb. At that time, if he had wished, Roosevelt had the power to push through any civil rights program that he wanted.

MR. MOSSE: Don't forget President Roosevelt was a practical politician.

COL. ARVEY: In that connection, the Southern delegates at this convention were quite willing to accept the 1944 plank on civil rights. The conven-

tion overrode the majority report by adding two very strong sentences. One pledges full support to President Truman's fight for civil rights, which took in everything that we have been talking about. The second is for immediate end to the segregation of races in the armed services.

MR. HURLEIGH: That is something that Roosevelt never did in all the years that he was in office and when he had complete control of the Congress.

COL. ARVEY: As a matter of fact, Hurleigh, we were led to believe that had we adopted the majority report of the platform committee, even after we had voted down the amendment on states rights offered by Southern delegates in different versions, the South would have been satisfied, but the convention was really determined to go all out on this and fully support President Truman.

MR. HURLEIGH: What I have in mind is Mosse's statement that the 1948 platform is Roosevelt's New Deal platform. I don't think so. I think it is Truman's platform, the Democratic Party in 1948. It wasn't a Roosevelt-New Deal platform at all.

MR. BUCHANAN: Let's look at some of the other points in the platform. I am very much interested in the direct stand on the Taft-Hartley Act. What brought about that violent opposition?

Democrats Favor Taft-Hartley Act Repeal

COL. ARVEY: There is a clear-cut issue there between labor and those who believe that the Taft-Hartley law cures the wrangling between labor and industry. Labor was united in its opposition to the Taft-Hartley law, and the convention adopted that plank. It is one of the clear-cut issues of the next election. The people will be asked to decide whether they want to stand by the Taft-Hartley law as it is now written, or whether they favor repeal and a start toward one which might unite labor and industry.

MR. HURLEIGH: I was surprised that so few of the big labor leaders came to the Democratic Convention. Here is a party that is going to fight for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law—and labor is opposed to the Taft-Hartley law—and only Mr. Whitney came to make a speech to the convention. He is the same man who three years ago said he would spend every dollar he had and every dollar in the coffers of his brotherhood to defeat Mr. Truman. Now he has had a change of heart and was the only big labor leader who came to the convention.

COL. ARVEY: Whitney is a smart man, and smart men change their minds while fools never do. Remember, Hurleigh, that those labor leaders who, because of other business, could not come to the convention, made their decisions prior to the adoption of the platform, which calls for an all-out repeal of the Taft-Hartley law.

MR. MOSSE: Do you assume that labor is for the Taft-Hartley law?

MR. HURLEIGH: Not necessarily, but perhaps there are many labor leaders in this country, Mosse, who are of the opinion that the Taft-Hartley law, if amended, is not necessarily a bad law. I am confident of that. I have talked to a lot of them, and they tell me that the Taft-Hartley law certainly is not as bad as some of the labor union leaders will say it is. There are two

or three places it must be amended, but we need the Taft-Hartley law in opposition to the Wagner Act that held during the '30s and '40s.

MR. MOSSE: We need some kind of labor legislation. We agree on that.

MR. HURLEIGH: I don't believe the people want to go back to the days of the Wagner Act.

COL. ARVEY: The convention adopted the strong plank on the Taft-Hartley law because we thought the Taft-Hartley law, while it might do some good in some directions, was conceived in a spirit of spite. We don't believe that it is the approach to unity between labor and industry. We think it better to repeal that and start all over, whether it is the Taft law or Hartley law, or law by any other name. We ought to start from the beginning.

MR. HURLEIGH: You say that legislation brought about during a period of strife and spite is not necessarily good legislation?

COL. ARVEY: Well, you can't say that it is the best legislation when you say "if amended" it might work out. If it is necessary to amend the law, it isn't perfect. If it isn't perfect, we ought to find something else. So many people believe that the legislation was motivated by spite, that it deserves reprisals, and that we ought to start all over. Maybe labor and industry can get together across a table, just as we are now, and work out something. That is the way I think legislation should be worked out.

MR. BUCHANAN: I don't think we can use our crystal ball as to what is going to happen in November or look too far into the past. I would like to talk a bit about the candidates themselves, for instance, the selection of Barkley, the running mate for Mr. Truman. What brought that about?

Barkley as Vice-Presidential Candidate

COL. ARVEY: First, Senator Barkley comes from a Southern state, at least a border state, and he has always been a champion of human and civil rights. He voted for FEPC, he voted for the anti-lynching bill, he voted for abolition of the poll tax, he voted for almost every domestic reform we have had. Democrats throughout the country have always had profound respect for him. The only deterrent in the mind of the delegates was Senator Barkley's age. He is going to be 71 this fall, and some doubted that he had the vitality necessary to carry on a vigorous campaign, but when he addressed the convention the last night for one hour and nine minutes, without glasses, a majestic figure, never a handkerchief to mop his brow, never a glass of water, he showed then that he had the vitality that very few of us younger men have.

MR. MOSSE: Don't you think there is a more practical reason for naming Mr. Barkley as the Vice-Presidential candidate? After all, if Truman is defeated in the fall—and I am one who thinks he has a pretty good chance to win—Barkley will be the only man around whom the Democrats will rally and reorganize the party to pick up the pieces. He at least will be the No. 1 man in the Senate, and it is possible that the Democrats will take over the Senate. It is just a matter of foresight.

MR. HURLEIGH: No, I don't believe Mr. Barkley will be the man to lead the party. Mosse, I think that we have to view it in this way. The Democrats must rebuild and reorganize. It will have to be the young men in the party, men like Colonel Arvey here in Illinois. A 71-year-old man—if I may digress

a moment—will be running against the past. No man on any ticket over 70 years of age, either as candidate for president or vice-president, has ever won. That is a rather interesting aspect.

MR. MOSSE: Senator Barkley can be the highest Democrat in office. They naturally will look to him in the Senate. He will be the Democratic leader in the Senate and the Democrats may well take over the Senate.

MR. HURLEIGH: He will be a strong force, but in another four years he will be 75 years old.

MR. MOSSE: Still he will be the official leader of the party.

MR. HURLEIGH: If Mr. Truman loses, he will be the titular head of the party as Mr. Hoover was in 1932. This is, by the way, 1932 all over again with the position reversed. Now then, men will come up. Mr. Dewey was a young man in 1932. Mr. Stassen was in his middle 20's and Mr. Taft was only an Ohio politician. A new leader will come out of the situation.

MR. MOSSE: They won't be like the Republicans, I hope.

'Democrats Will Look to New Leaders'

COL. ARVEY: I think we are discussing something that isn't going to happen. Truman and Barkley will win, but I agree with Hurleigh that, in the event that a miracle happens and we are defeated, the party will be reorganized by the younger men of the party, like Mayor O'Dwyer of New York and Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis.

MR. HURLEIGH: And Shelley out in California.

COL. ARVEY: And Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. Don't overlook him. I don't know whether I will be around at that time but at some time he is going to occupy a high office. In my book he is a "good bet."

But while Senator Barkley, by virtue of his commanding position in the Senate among the Democrats in the Senate, will hold the party together, the party will have to be rebuilt around the younger men. We have fine young men, veterans of this last war, who are coming up, and they will be heard from.

MR. MOSSE: I don't think that Mr. Barkley will be running the party for the next four years. The man is 70 years old, but he will be a bridge, say, for the next two or three years until this new leader of the party is anchored.

MR. HURLEIGH: You have said that the Republican Party hung onto Mr. Hoover after 1932. Well, the way Mr. Hoover was received by the Republican convention three weeks ago, it seems to me that by now we are beginning to see that Mr. Hoover is not out of the party at all. He is merely gaining new respect and new dignity, as viewed in retrospect, but in 1932 Mr. Hoover wasn't considered for office in 1936.

COL. ARVEY: Yes, he was.

MR. HURLEIGH: He was hardly the leader of the party.

COL. ARVEY: We must plead guilty on that score, because I think the Democrats helped to keep Hoover the head of the party.

I want to say now I have always considered Mr. Hoover a very fine gentleman. I think he lacks inspirational leadership, but I think he was a fine administrator, and I am not a party to the general clamor throughout this land

for many years demanding that he be hailed as a devil of American politics.

MR. HURLEIGH: Which caused him great unhappiness.

COL. ARVEY: I have very high respect for Mr. Hoover.

MR. BUCHANAN: What is the move of President Truman in calling a special session of Congress? Many people say that it is distinctly a political move and can bring no good.

COL. ARVEY: If it is political, it is the best political move that can be made for the people. I am speaking now as a man whose business it is to get votes. An election is coming on in November and there is no better time for the people to apply pressure to their elected representatives than just prior to election. Truman has given the people that opportunity to put pressure upon their elected representatives in Congress. The Republican platform contains certain pledges. All Mr. Truman asks is that the Republican Party representatives in Congress carry out those pledges now *before* election instead of waiting until *after* election.

MR. HURLEIGH: I believe that the break away of the Southerners will cause much unhappiness for Mr. Truman and perhaps to the Republicans. The Southerners have formed a platform and they will go to Washington. It is quite possible they will say, "All right, you are challenging us. We will accept the challenge and we want our platform policies built into legislation. We want them to be passed by the Congress." If the first bill presented will be the civil rights program in the form of legislation, the Southerners will begin to fight against it and there will be backfire and a stalemate at best.

Special Session May Change Situation

MR. MOSSE: I think we are overlooking the important reason why Mr. Truman called this special session. Actually, it is going to give him a definite advantage in the next six weeks, whereas Mr. Dewey will be practically an outsider. Dewey will not be in on the fight at Washington. Mr. Taft will be the spokesman for the Republican Party and Mr. Truman can "call the shots" from the White House. Mr. Dewey will be at a disadvantage.

MR. HURLEIGH: You are enough of a journalist, Mosse, to know that every time there is any legislation before the Congress the reporters will go to Mr. Dewey to get his opinion. I do not believe that he will be so much out of the picture, any more than in the average election year when the President is in the White House. Of course, the incumbent always has the best of it.

COL. ARVEY: I would like to go back to an observation made a while ago about the possibility of a filibuster on the part of the Southern Senators in Congress. Suppose that members of the Republican Party, in adherence to the platform adopted at Philadelphia, and the Northern Democrats, in adherence to our platform adopted in Philadelphia, combined for the purpose of passing these various pieces of legislation. A filibuster can't avail. It will be of no use and can't be successful.

MR. HURLEIGH: Then we can shout hurrah for both Mr. Truman and the G. O. P.!

COL. ARVEY: The people of America can benefit, regardless of whether Mr. Truman or the Republicans get credit.

MR. MOSSE: Hurleigh, do you think the Republicans will push this civil rights legislation now in hopes that Congress will be tied up in a filibuster?

MR. HURLEIGH: The Republican Party has always been for civil rights. Don't overlook that. The Republicans have never had a recalcitrant group. There has never been a quarrel among the Republicans on that.

MR. MOSSE: Do you think they will bring it up now?

MR. HURLEIGH: Certainly, they will.

MR. MOSSE: That will be wise politics.

MR. HURLEIGH: We were talking a moment ago about the New Deal platform. We overlooked the foreign policy entirely. We are coming up to a special session, and we have been having trouble with Berlin. Now, if we are going to talk about the New Deal platform we must consider at the same time the Berlin crises, and we must talk about Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam, and "that ain't good."

MR. BUCHANAN: What do you think may happen to our foreign policy in the special session?

COL. ARVEY: I don't know, that is, unless some emergency arises.

I think we have overlooked something here which to me is an important bit of legislation, and that is housing. In that respect, I think the Democrats must gain, because we have been fighting Senator Taft's battle and he has not been able to control the Republican majority in the House. The House emasculated the very bill that Senator Taft backed. Now, Senator Taft will be the leader of that fight. He is the leader of the Senate; he is the leader of the Republican majority. You will find we have the ironical situation of Mr. Truman having as his adversary Senator Taft, who was not picked by the Republican Convention.

MR. BUCHANAN: In your discussion, gentlemen, you have demonstrated one of the tenets of American democracy: discussion and debate are essential to our form of government.



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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE 1948 ELECTION

Vol. X, No. 25

JUST WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

Vol. X, No. 26

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Suggested Readings

Compiled by Miss Eleanor F. Lewis,
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Forum. 109:352-9, Je., '48. "Forum: Should We Oppose the Truman Civil Rights Program?" Yes! by MARION GREENE. No! by CAROL L. THOMPSON.

Both sides are presented ably.

Harper's. 197:27-35, Jy., '48. "President Harry." R. H. ROVERE.

On the whole, President Truman has furnished weak leadership in a time of crisis, but he has stood by his civil rights, and he has pushed the Marshall Plan.

New Republic. 119:11-15, Jy. 12, '48. "The Democrats' Last Chance."

The only chance which the Democrats have for keeping control is a liberal platform which will offset losses in the ranks of the conservatives by gains in the ranks of labor.

Newsweek. 31:23, May 24, '48. "Dixiecrats."

Describes the revolt of the Southerners against the civil rights program.

Newsweek. 32:15-17, Jy. 19, '48. "Back to Truman—By Default."

Summarizes the events preceding Senator Barkley's keynote speech assailing the record of the Republicans in Congress.

United States News. 25:11-13, July 16, '48. "Clues to Mr. Truman's Future: Six Who Inherited the Presidency."

Only two of Mr. Truman's predecessors, who advanced to the Presidency because of the death of the Chief Executive, were nominated and elected to the Presidency.

United States News. 25:17-19, Jy. 16, '48. "Another Year of Boom Prices? Markups Are Running 5 to 10 Percent."

On the basis of rising costs, the cost of living is expected to rise 6 to 7

percent in 1949. One reason for continued high prices is government spending for defense and for foreign aid.

United States News. 25:20-21, Jy. 2, '48. "Congress: Real Election Issue."

The record of the 80th Congress will probably determine the outcome of the election.



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